

283 customers. A much quicker way to get on with the twisting
 462 is to attach the wool to hooks on the roof from which the
 spindles are suspended. Then, sitting on the ground with
 four or more spindles in a row, each in turn may be given
 a twist with the hand, and so four or five balls can be twisted
 up in less time than one. Where there is an industrious
 housewife, large balls of wool may be seen hanging from the
 roof or even out in the fresh air of the balcony, where the fish
 insects are less likely to get them, ready for the coming of the
 286 weaver. If a very fine cloth is required, the balls are first
 soaked in water to shrink and harden them. The warp is
 prepared out in the road where there is a nice level stretch,
 and an experienced weaver walks up and down its length,
 arranging the threads and directing his assistants. The
 warp is then wound on a roller and transferred to a machine
 for weaving. The woof is made from the wool of three
p'angs twisted together and passed in and out on a shuttle.
 The weaving machine is a very primitive-looking affair,
 worked by a treadle, and the resulting *snambu* is little over a
 foot wide, so that a Ladaki garment has many longitudinal
 seams. But before sewing, the cloth must be shrunk, and a
 whole day is spent trampling it on a flat stone selected for
 the purpose in a running watercourse. This decreases its
 width by another three or four inches. It is then wound on
 a smooth stick and rolled up and down for about an hour by
 way of mangling it, and finally spread out in the sun to dry.
 [292] If it is to be used for a woman's or a lama's dress, it still has
 to be dyed the necessary dark red.

463 For sewing clothes a special man is generally employed,
 462 but rough mending anyone will do, especially the men.
 Both sexes also help in the regular irrigation of the crops in
 summer, and the other agricultural occupations in their
 ● [297] season. There are the cattle to tend, in which occupation the
 651 children are so useful; some of the male members may travel
 about the country trading, while there is always the bugbear

844 layettes over which the occidental mother spends so many loving hours, no preparations of clothing are made, but as soon as he has arrived safely, some cloth is fetched from the bazar in which to wrap him. Before his birth his mother must eat a great deal of fat to "oil the wheels" well for his arrival. One other preparation has been made, for goat's dung has been collected, dried (and incidently somewhat sterilized) in the hot sun, then crushed up finely. This powder is then placed on a sheep-skin, upon which Baby is laid, and thus all his excretions are absorbed, the powder being changed every day or two. Lactation is continued as long as possible, sometimes to the third year, but the child is also allowed to eat other food, just as he fancies. Some women once visited the Doctor Mem-sahib on a winter evening and were astonished when she took them to peep at her baby, for had she not left the sleeping child alone, in the dark, and in a cold room with the window wide open? Their babies on the contrary sit on their mothers' laps or crawl about until the grown-ups go to bed, tasting all the supper, and enjoying the warmth, not to say stuffiness, of the big stove, as well as all the light and conversation. While still a tiny mite, Baby is slung in a cloth over the back of his small sister, who makes a little picture of premature motherliness, as she goes to her work or play with a bobbing baby on her back.

• 857 It is extraordinary how alike childhood is all the world over. These children have a game called the wolf and lamb, very similar to our fox and sheep, in which they will sing "The wolf is not there; to the horse gate we'll go." Then the wolf comes out, and the mother sheep with outstretched arms has to try to protect her little ones, who stand behind her in order of height, while the bad wolf seizes the last and smallest, one after the other until all have been stolen. Then there is a kind of hopscotch, which has come up from India, and an indigenous hide-and-seek called *Yib-ches-lo-lo*. And of course the boys have their games of fashioning idols on the

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mountain side and imitating the lama's ritual, or pretending to be kings and wazirs, with wars and fighting. The little girls—true daughters of Eve—interlace iris leaves to imitate *perags*, and exercise their housewifely instincts by making little houses and kitchens of stones and earth, and arranging quite nice little models of the family stove on which the most delicious *drons* are cooked, for, "lets' pretend" is a more potent spell than ever in this land "the wrong way round."

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But soon work begins to be mixed with their play. Little people early become expert with the bellows and can keep the fire going, while mother attends to the contents of the cooking pots, for to make bright flames is always fascinating. Quite small children can take out the sheep and goats, and even the cows, keeping them in sight on the damp turf near spring and stream, where there are all sorts of games to be played, stone throwing, bridge-building, dam-making to irrigate minute fields, and all the wide-world mud delights of children. In the autumn fuel must be collected for the cold, hard days of winter, and the boys and girls, slipping their old sheepskins on their backs to keep the baskets from wearing out their clothes, go off to the hills to follow up the tracks of donkeys, ponies, zos and yaks, picking up the manure and flinging it over their shoulders into their baskets, varying their work with laughter and fun, and many a game. Back for breakfast, then off again till midday, and then another basketful in the evening, till a goodly pile of dung is drying on the sunny roof. As the leaves fall, they too must be swept up with rough little brushes of straw tied together; basketfuls of these are taken home and used to roast the barley before it is milled. Still better are the long days of spring and early summer, when boys and girls go off to the neighbouring hills and valleys to collect *burtsa* and other roots. for fuel, or to mind the sheep and goats while they wander about in search of fodder. These long days in the mountains

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595 shall try to show why in some cases
121 polyandry is fraternal, and in others non-
fraternal.

162 The province of Ladak, which I visited,
197 is inhabited by Tibetans speaking an
793 ancient form of the language. Tibet, of
643 course, is run by the Lamaist church and
361 the head of the country is the Dalai Lama.
341 The former kings of Tibet have taken
131 refuge in Ladak since the 8th century A. D.
175 and live in the castle of Leh. The town
is very characteristic of Tibetan towns.
Flat-roofed houses are very well built on
the side of high mountains. The altitude
is 12,000 feet, the entire area is snowed in
during the winter, and the people live
mostly in their houses and do not go out.

[22] These Tibetan houses are not very dif-
164 ferent from our own western type of
123 houses, except in one respect. The kitchen
354 here has no chimney, so it can be imagined
how much smoke fills the room when they
cook. The Tibetans do not seem to mind;
though we personally found it very difficult
to stand upright in their kitchens when
they were cooking and so spent most of
our time there on all fours, to avoid the
smoke and keep our eyes from watering.
The people suffer from eye trouble because
of this practice and yet they seem to stick
to it in a very curious manner.

291 The characteristic dress of the Ladak
301 women is of red cloth such as the men
523 wear. They have a sheepskin toga which
428 they throw over their shoulders and a very
characteristic head-dress, made of a piece
of red felt with two enormous ears of black
wool. The red felt band is studded with
turquoises at the back, family heirlooms,
handed down from mother to daughter.
Such a headdress is known as a *perak*.

291 The men are tough-looking. They very
857 often have their right shoulders bare;
though sometimes they have a Chinese
shirt thrown over them. When they are
working, they usually have the right
shoulder uncovered, however cold the
weather may be. Looking at Tibetan
children, one could imagine at first sight

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857 that they have two heads, but the explanation is that they generally carry a younger brother or sister on their back because the mother is at work in the house and cannot look after them.

212 It is a fact that all Tibetans are literate, men and women alike. Whatever class they belong to, between the ages of 8 and 12 they have to go to the monastery to learn the Buddhist religion, learning to read and write at the same time. This gives these people a very high standard of culture.

595 The first thing to grasp in Tibetan polyandry is that the Tibetans are very keen to keep the property together. The country is poor, and they feel that if the property is divided among several heirs there will not be enough to go around. They not only wish to keep the property intact but also to maintain the family name to this property. Thus, when a certain number of brothers, let us say, three, inherit the property and the house, they do not divide it among themselves but, marrying one woman as they do, they share not only the property but also the woman as a common wife, as well as the children, which belong to all of them together. It is a kind of family communism, and certainly prevents division of the property.

595 Thus, the usual type of marriage is that a number of brothers marry one woman and keep the property. This is called a *bagma* marriage in Tibetan. However, if there are only girls in the family, what usually happens is that the younger girls go off and marry into other families, individually becoming the common wives of a number of brothers. They then perform the regular *bagma* marriage. The eldest daughter, however, since she has no brothers, inherits both the name and property from her fathers and is allowed to marry as many husbands as she wishes. These husbands and the children, too, take her name, so that, in this way, the children which issue from the marriage take on the mother's name and inherit the property undivided, and again make regular *bagma*

595 body denied, nevertheless, that jealousy was there, ever-present, under
598 the surface. All they said was that it is kept in check by the necessity
152 of the polyandrous system, which in turn is the result of the dearth of
resources which consequently should themselves be shared in so bleak
an environment.

844 The education of the children in a polyandrous household was the
next point which I took up. At birth, I heard, there was no midwifery,
mothers usually going to the assistance of their daughters and rendering
them the necessary service. After that, it was the mother who naturally
854 looked after the baby in its early infancy, often suckling it for a pro-
1853 tracted period of from one to three years, depending on subsequent
pregnancies. Sometimes, a woman would be assisted in the care of the
child by one of her own sisters from outside – either from the house of
her parents or from the house she had been married into in *bag-ma*.

863 Asked what were the rules of cleanliness taught early to a baby, I
was told that there were none. Children were left to do absolutely
whatever they liked in this respect, and put outside the house to play
in the lanes and fields with other children, without any constraint being
imposed upon them. Of course, if they dirtied the house, they were
scolded and driven outside, but beyond that attitude, the mother never
attempted to control them in such matters at all. (This might actually
5K account for the extraordinary freedom of Tibetans everywhere within
123 their cultural area in what concerns evaculatory functions; both men and
women seem to have no shame at all in performing on the streets in
public and before everybody's gaze. They will also follow Europeans
who try to retire in privacy, to see "how they do it" – one of the most
embarrassing things about field-work in Tibet.)

859 Children take to playing very early in the lanes and fields. They
make castles of mud and water, and nothing seems to amuse them more
during their first years. They then go over to more sophisticated games
such as hockey, riding on sticks, playing at being a family, at cultivating
the fields with small, imitation hoes, at being bride and bridegroom at
a wedding festival. Dolls are made for the girls out of rags, and the
boys go about with little axes made of wood. But they seem to tire of
such games at times, and often go back to making mud and water pies
and constructions.

595 It is at this stage that paternal authority makes itself felt. I asked
855 who was the father who took over control, expecting it to be the eldest,
as he is regarded as the head of the family. But I was told that this
was not so, and that it was the father who was the most influential who